

TILAK NUMBER  
• **YOUNG INDIA**

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University of Chicago

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Indian Patriot's Death

• **Condoning Murder**

**Boycotting the British**

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## Art Section

## Infant Krishna with Yashoda

By ANANDA CHANDRASEKHARY

Readers of *Young India* will be aware of the revival of Indian painting during the last fifteen years in Calcutta, under the leadership of Mr. A. N. Tagore, C. I. E., Vice-President of the Calcutta school of art. Although there are numerous Japanese and European elements in the work of this new school of Bengali painters, the primary inspiration is old Indian; the intention has been to recover the traditions of Ajanta, Rajast, and Mughal painting. Many of the subjects chosen accordingly are all well known themes of Indian mythology and epic tradition, but, as must have been the case with an external (however well constituted) interest, there is generally a lack of conviction in the work, which cannot compare in vitality with that of the older schools. Nevertheless the movement represents a recovery from the decadent state of Indian art in the eighteenth century. It has obtained considerable vogue as an aspect of the Nationalist movement of this era, with official approval and encouragement; and there exists in Calcutta a Society of Oriental art, of mixed Indian and European members, which holds annual exhibitions of the work of Indian artists (whose paintings are easily sold at prices ranging from 75 to 250 English pounds) and publishes colored and photographic reproductions of their work. Reproductions in color are also liberally given in Indian magazines such as the *Madras Review*.

The painting which we reproduce this

month is by Art Kumar Halder, a pupil of Mr. Tagore, and represents the infant Krishna lying in his foster mother's lap—as Indian Mahatmas and Child. Without creating a very powerful work, the artist has been able to give pleasing expression to a theme still infinitely dear to Indian Vasaas. The environment is, as it should be, that of a modern Indian home, where European ways of living have not yet penetrated; there is but lack of deliberate exclusion, aside from the traditional dark robes of the child. Only the shorn and not well constructed folds of the drapery evoke a passing note as a composition that is otherwise uncolored.

For modern Indian painting, the reader may consult Bhattacharya, E. B., "Literary and Social," vol. 18, 21; Roy, B. K., "Art," Nov., 1907; Ganguly, G. C., "Journal of Indian Art," vol. 17; Bhattacharya, "Literary and Social," vol. 18, and reproductions published by the *Madras Review*, by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, and in the *Kalika* magazine, Nov., 1910, 1911.

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INFANT KRISHNA WITH YASHODA  
BY ART KUMAR HALDER

Calcutta, 1910 century.

# YOUNG INDIA

Vol. III

SEPTEMBER 1900

No. 9

## Mr. B. G. Tilak—An Appreciation

In the death of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, on August 26, India loses one of her best known and most honored sons, and the world loses a great political orator. He was sixty-five years of age; his full thirty years his career had been a house-hold word in India. He was renowned as a scholar, an editor, an author of books of great learning, a teacher, a religious leader, a statesman, a popular political leader, and a most self-sacrificing and devoted patriot. From his earliest childhood he had felt deeply the poverty, the illiteracy, the constant recurring famines, the oppression, the high death rate, the economic, political and social wrong, and injustice, the inequalities, the evils of a hundred kinds from which his country was suffering largely due to the fact that she was a subject land and ruled by wrong; and he has made against her constant and to further the work of her rulers, her resources expended for the benefit of the nation that held her in subjection, and her wealth, which ought to have secured her people food, health, education

and comfort, spent for attempts to make secure her bondage, and to supply high salaries and fat pensions to the foreigners who inflicted themselves upon her as rulers. The painful consciousness of all this pierced his soul like a dagger, and he dedicated his life to the task of liberating his country's freedom and to procure her advancement and welfare by every means in his power. From that task he never turned aside for a day except when compelled to do so by being cast into prison by the government that hated and feared him for his patriotism and his power with the people. What is Mr. Tilak's place in the world? Is it exaggerated to say that it is by the side of Mazzini and the leaders of America's struggle for independence—Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, Jefferson and Washington? Not one of these men, when all the world looked, looked more heroically or more self-sacrificingly for his country's advancement and freedom than did this great son of India.

J. T. S.

## Editorial Notes

### On the Debate

One of the most significant events in English political life was the recent House of Commons debate on the Foreign disturbances of 1919, a report of which is published elsewhere in these columns. With its usual truth and detestation, the *London Daily Herald* in its editorial columns fiercely and justly criticises the action of the members of Parliament in condemning only General Dyer, and absolving from all guilt both the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, and the Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu. See the editorial on page 1.

We have little sympathy with Mr. Montagu. He has tried to sell two notions, pretending at first and pretending a good true policy. The case which American states in a far larger one than can be decided by a slight change of personnel. Whether Mr. Montagu goes and Lord Chelmsford stays, or whether Lord Chelmsford goes and Mr. Montagu stays, in some positively unimportant. It is not for him to say how a whole system, that is to say, the whole system of ruling India, by an irresponsible bureaucracy should be done. Mr. Montagu's measures of "voluntarism" is an irresponsible one. A government which keeps itself so long must be prepared to say a willing state, must be prepared to face a succession of disasters and the inevitable manner which it collapses in bloody war.

If India is not to pass through another so bloody revolution the attempt to drive into the Indian people by force must be abandoned. The only alternative in 1919 was that full and frank application of India of the principle of self-determination which the British Labor Party demands.

### About Fiji Again

In our last issue mention was made of the events which took place in the Fiji

Islands in the early part of this year, as an outcome of the strike of Indian labourers for better working conditions. The disturbances, it will be recalled, constituted a protest against the under-employment of labor, which makes of every Indian a virtual slave.

Further details of the situation have just reached us from a correspondent in Fiji, who writes that the number of Indians arrested during the period was over 300. "Many were shot and wounded, though officially it was announced that no had died. Many were removed to from three weeks to twelve months. . . . New Indians are so handicapped that they are leaving Fiji by the thousand, over 5000 having already headed straight back to India. How deeds of blood and land have been given back to Fiji and cattle ranch loans to 10 to 25 pounds a head (from \$15 to \$24) have been sold for two pounds (about \$5)."

For those Indians who are remaining in the islands the situation is just as difficult. "Foodstuffs are now so dear that it is impossible to lead a decent life." The full meaning of this may be gathered from a study of the prices of foodstuffs in 1919 as compared with those in 1918. Here are some from a report issued in 1919 to 26 cents in 1918) butter from 35 cents to 75 cents, fish from 5 cents to 12, mutton all from 25 cents a quart to 75 cents.

These figures have been taken by our correspondent from a petition presented by the Indian settlers in Fiji to the Government. The prices of foodstuffs and clothing have gone up 300 per cent, the petition states. Wages in the period have remained about the same—an average of about 15 pence (12 cents) a day! This is simply shocking. Indian laborers are now asking for five shillings (30 cents) a day. But their demands have thus far been ignored, and if the British indifference to Fiji can help it, the demands will not be granted, for it has been found easier, and cheaper, to bully the men into returning to work by the methods of coercion employed in the last strike, than to grant their just demands.

### Britain's Hold on Persia

Any student of international politics has come to realize that much of the Empire-building efforts of Great Britain have not yet been in vain—the continued retention of India, and the strengthening of the Indian Empire. For this purpose Egypt, Africa, and the Near East have been brought under the heel of Britain, and for the same reason the peoples in this vast aggregation of territory have been subjected politically and morally to their material concerns. But is not the time for the great day of reckoning of India, the hold on Persia, Mesopotamia, Tibet, Baluchistan, and the advanced control of Afghanistan are but for the continued security of the Indian territory, the immediate near Arabia and Palestine already additional strength for the British in the East. The control over China is likewise for the same reason which Great Britain has in the East, namely, the strengthening of her hold on India.

It is appalling to think of the millions of people who are thus being subjected and held in hand; it is even more tragic

to realize how much this conquest of lands and people is costing the world, and especially the conquered territories. One item of the vast expenditure has recently been brought to our attention. It is the sum spent on the campaign in Persia for the past several years. It is an article in the *London Daily Mail* there has appeared a summary of the British activities in Persia for the past four years. The total expenditure amount to about \$10,000,000 (\$10,000,000) for the construction of roads, of railways for the transportation of British troops, and for more cars, munitions, etc. In the Parliament these expenditures always come under the heading of funds necessary for combating Bolshevik propaganda. So, for four years, the British people have been, and are still being, taxed to maintain an army and equipment in Persia, equipped there for the sole purpose of watching over Bolshevik activities, which are just as rampant, as if there were no Russian army, but primarily India, and guarding it against external and internal disturbances.

It is incredible how the British people can acquiesce in this costly enterprise which the British government is pursuing. Yet, so far as we know, little protest has been made against the expenditure of such a vast sum as \$10,000,000—an absolute waste, from whatever point of view considered. The article in the *Daily Mail* does not attempt to compare the cost to the Persian people, to say nothing of the extraction from India, so usual, for this necessary expenditure. We can, within the framework of the situation, have an idea of the cost.

vision of young Persians to delude the British leaders, and when we hear of the protests made in India, and, of late, throughout the entire East and Near East, against the further expansion of money and the use of Indian troops for the continued exploitation of the East by Great Britain.

### Indian Labor Protests

It appears from Indian papers of recent date that Indian labor refuses to be intimidated by the British Government in India, and that although it has heretofore remained comparatively silent in the face of government action, labor in India now has definitely decided that it will make itself heard. The latest instance of this firm stand taken by Indian labor is evidenced in the protest by the organizations in Bombay against the Government of India's arbitrary choice of a labor representative to the International Labor Conference, provided for in the Peace Treaty, to which India was a signatory.

Dr D. D. Satya, President of the Indian Labor League and the Bombay Mill-Hands Association has sent to the Governor in Council, to the Governor General, Lord Chelmsford, and to the Secretary of State Mr. Montagu, a resolution to that effect.

The Labor associations have named as their choice Lala Lajpat Rai, with Dr D. D. Satya, and Moten Chandra Lal and Ghoshli as advisers. The labor movements in Bombay have announced also that they will hold an All-India Trade Union Congress in Bombay next, and that Lala Lajpat Rai has consented to preside.

### Lajpat Rai's Stand

In a lengthy statement to the Press Lala Lajpat Rai has outlined his position as regards the acceptance of the provisions of the New Government of India Act. His quote from his letter:

"The decision of the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the Minor Commission Report implies that the entire policy of the Mahatma Ghandi was right, and except that a few editors here and there resented the breach of continuity, notwithstanding, there was nothing wrong with a firm stand that the government of the educated community of the Punjab against the Mahatma Ghandi were lawless and unrighteous. In my opinion this dynamic negates the possibility of the participation in the two subjects by the educated community of the Punjab such appreciable enthusiasm or hope."

The officers who in the national law regard such a pronounced part in depressing and debasing the educated community of the Punjab try all alonging their strength. Our officers who participated sympathetically before in the glorification of Ghandian's Hindu-Buddhist faith who with his own hand raised the veil of Indian labor and introduced them to the most pronounced of labor are still occupying their office.

Similarly other officers who were the right hand men of the Mahatma Ghandi have taken more to money than all others are apt to do so. These officers will be the official members of the Punjab Council. Any Indian member who joins the Council will be in duty bound to vote these officers. He will have to deal with these very day.

Although I have previously mentioned as wrong in their heads my self-regard that we permit us to cultivate friendship with these heads that kindly guard my back, they contemptuously laughed at and turned them and who otherwise degraded them in many ways.

There were months ago, only two or three hundred in what was of the Indian and official members were in money and I hardly doubt that the day should come soon, but

to say that the time has come is to stand out eyes to look. Up all our day are the colors and we are the color. They mean to and my money them. In my view there here it cannot be useful in my money both inside the Council.

We may add that this attitude has been endorsed heartily by Mr. M. K. Gandhi, leader of the "Non-Cooperation with the Government" movement, and that Mr. Gandhi has expressed his belief that the new way of effectively conducting the stand taken by Mr. Rai is through Non-Cooperation.

### The Black Hole Myth

We wonder how many times our readers have heard of the terrible tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta, in which, in the 18th Century, it is said that a number of English people were confined to death as a result of their confinement in the Black Hole by Indians. The Black Hole story has been used time and again to inspire the national anxiety and hostility of the Indian people.

It is, however, with unqualified joy that we welcome the disclosure by a British scholar that the entire story is a myth, concocted by British historians to "arouse prejudice against Siraj-ud-daulah" (one of the reigning princes). What has been discovered by the writer, Babu Ashutosh Kumar Mukherjee, is that a Black Hole incident did actually occur in December in 1757. The details of the story are:

In a small room some hundreds of our poor (Indian) soldiers were imprisoned, the English brought us from a ship by our own hands and they were and had them shut. At last the remaining prisoners were forced to enter one. The English then closed the door to be closed. When the

door was opened forty-five dead bodies were dragged out, they were all dead from hunger, exhaustion, fatigue, heat and suffocation.

The author has drawn his facts from "The Guide to the Punjab" and from an article written in the Calcutta Review of April, 1904. We wonder how much longer the lot of the Black Hole of Calcutta will be perpetuated in history.

### Profiteering in India

In the course of an article on Indian money A. E. Watterson, writing in *Reynold's Weekly* (England), gives some interesting figures of profiteering in India, from previous days on. "Capitalism knows where to strike in order to enhance its position," the writer remarks. "The Bengal Iron and Steel Company profit for 1903 was (about) Rs. 22,118. In 1904 it was Rs. 1,00,000. The price of its shares in 1904 was about Rs. 100 and in 1911 it was Rs. 25, and in December, 1907, it rose to Rs. 1, which, in terms of American dollars means that a share has risen about \$4 to \$20. "Official departmental accounts showed profits of just under, after deducting all taxes, totalled in 1904 Rs. 37,712,000, and in 1911 rose to Rs. 712,400. Although in this official figure Indians in that there were 6,000,000 victims of inflation and profiteering, caused by taxes, which spread widely owing to the confidence of the workers. Their normal working day is twelve hours and on days a week Indians feeling the hardship of the economic struggle are striving for justice, equity and liberty. When they strike against hard conditions the military air brought into operation."

## News in Brief

We learn from the *English press* that Mohammed Ali, the head of the Indian Mohammedan delegation, recently paid a visit to Pope Benedict at Rome, and presented the case for the Muslims of the Caliphate. After his interview with the Pope, Mohammed Ali announced that his visit had been sympathetically received by the Pope.

Some cases have occurred recently in the Northern Punjab of looting thieving. The bands are believed to have come from Indians in the colonies, or from the Northwestern border group of revolutionists.

Mr. Andrew Connors Doyle, the British minister, has suggested to the British government a method of combating Bolshevik propaganda in India. It is to publish in the vernacular languages the lies and which follow in the wake of Bolshevik rule, and to draw a contrast between "the settled order of British rule and the chaos and ruin which would descend the country if such doctrine (as Bolshevism) were reduced to practice." The "settled order of British rule," in view of what happened in India in 1920, is "good"! We sympathize with Connors Doyle in his new mission.

In our last issue mention was made of the special meeting of the Indian National Congress scheduled for some time in September. It has just been announced that Lala Lajpat Rai, who is known to our readers as former editor

of *Young India*, has been elected president of the Special Congress meeting. Mr. Rai's election is significant in Indian politics at this stage, for he has stood his position, with regard to the New Government of India Act, to be a boycott of the reforms, as a protest against the rotten disposal of the martial law occurrences in the Punjab last year.

Festivals of education and of women in India are rejoicing over the donation, recently made by the Vichitra Thakurani, of fifteen lakhs of rupees, about \$300,000, to the Indian Women's University in Poona. The gift has been accepted by Professor Karve, the founder and head of the University. Nothing is more important for the freedom and regeneration of India than the education of her girls and women. The donors here that leaders of public sentiment in the country are feeling this more and more pressure made for the future of India.

The papers from India tell us of meetings held in all parts of the country to protest against the report of the Hunter Committee. The feeling is universal that it is a whitewash of British culpability and utterly unjust to India. Dr. Muzumdar, of Amritsar, has stated publicly his intention of prosecuting in England General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer for the murder of his son, a boy of twelve, in the Jallianawalla massacre of last year.

To express sympathy with the women and children of India who suffered the agony of martial law in 1919, a meeting of women was held in London recently under the auspices of the Women's Freedom League. The meeting was addressed by Miss Sarah Jane Wain, the Hindu "poetess and politician," and by several friends of the cause of India. Resolutions were passed demanding the recall of the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, and the impeachment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, for the part they played in causing the sufferings of 1919. Protest was also entered at the meeting against the failure of the Secretary of State to provide for the enfranchisement of women, in the new Government of India Act. We wish to express our thanks to the members of the Women's Freedom League for their sympathy and their action.

To show their sympathy with the "Boycott the British" movement, Hindu residents of New York, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco, Sacramento and other places in the United States held mass-meetings in the early part of August and passed resolutions urging the people of India "to take necessary steps to stop Indian rice, sugar and material from being utilized in supplying for British imperialist schemes to subvert Asiatic countries and Russia." A similar resolution was passed at a meeting held by Indian residents in London in the latter part of July.

All the Hindus in America feel deeply the death of Mr. Tish. Memorial meetings were held in New York, De-

troit, Chicago, San Francisco, Sacramento, Vancouver and other cities, and deep sorrow was expressed at such over the loss of the great Indian leader. Calcuttians offering condolences to the family were sent.

The Director of Information of the Government of Bengal has recently issued a memorandum in which he gives some very interesting figures showing the number of deaths in Bengal. It has been said that the deaths (hurdles) are revolutionary workers who collect funds by plundering rich men in the Province in order to carry on their propaganda. The figures are:

In 1915	Deaths
" 1916	114
" 1917	444
" 1918	151
" 1919	458
" 1920	383

Recent informants that the Director of the International Chamber of Commerce in Paris has decided that India shall be admitted to membership of the Chamber as an economic unit and shall be entitled to two Directors upon the Council of Administration.

Lord Bute of Ripon, Under-Secretary for India, is among the Provincial Governors who will take up office as soon as those parts of the Government of India Act which relate to the local governments are brought into operation in the early part of next year. Lord Bute will be Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

## B. G. Tilak: Scholar and Patriot

By J. T. SUMNERLAND.

Mr. Tilak's home was in Poona, an old historic city of western India, a hundred miles or so from Bombay. Inheriting from his father a love for Sanskrit studies, he held in youth the traditional view of that thorough Sanskrit scholar which enabled him to write some of his most important books—the *Crises*, and the *Arctic Home in the Vale* among them, and a voluminous commentary on the Bhagavat Gita (Laud's work). At the age of 20 he graduated with honours in mathematics at the Deccan College (Poona). Three years later he also graduated in law.

In the second half of the nineteenth century India produced a galaxy of thinkers, writers and activists. Contact with western civilisation and the introduction into India of English literature had stimulated a desire for extended education.

Mr. Tilak and some of his friends were no doubt influenced with this desire that they set out to lead a movement for the promotion of private enterprise in education, pledging themselves to labour in the cause as great self-sacrificers, with little or no compensation. They opened a school in Poona, which soon developed into the famous Fergusson College, in which they themselves became professors, earning almost without pay.—Mr. Tilak occupying the chair of mathematics, and at times teaching Sanskrit and science as well. They established an "Art Institute" and a book store, and founded two weekly maga-

zines, one in Marathi, the language of that part of India, and one in English. Mr. Tilak continued his connection with the college until 1880, after which time he devoted himself to political activities through his newspapers and editorials, and to writing those books that have given him so high a place among Oriental scholars. His career as a journalist was extremely successful. Striking and scholarly in his diction, freedom in his thought and bold in his politics, he soon made his papers the most powerful organs of public opinion in western India. Indeed his journal, the *Kauro*, published in Marathi, soon took so strong a hold of the public mind that editions were demanded in at least three of the other languages of India, the Canares, Rajasthani and the Hindi.

It was a constant aim of Mr. Tilak throughout his whole public career to arouse in his countrymen a spirit of hope, of courage, of self-reliance, of pride in their own history, in their own literature, in their own institutions, in their own great civilisation of the past, and of determination to cut out of their present abject condition of political servitude in the world into real manhood once more.

As one means of kindling a national spirit, some years ago he led in the establishment of new national festivals, one called the Ganapati (really a revival of an old religious festival which had fallen into decay), and the other called the Shrawa, in commemoration of Shri

vish (or Shree) the great hero and liberator of the Mahabharata, founder of the important Maharastra Kingdom which existed for a time in Western India, during the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries. These festivals have become permanent annual institutions, drawing together each year hundreds of thousands to sing political and religious songs, to march in processions, and to commemorate in various ways the great deeds of the national past. They have undoubtedly done much to foster among the people a spirit of patriotism, self-reliance and national unity.

The only time I myself ever personally met Mr. Tilak was at the last Indian National Congress held in Poona in 1885. He was one of the secretaries of the Reception Committee, and was very active. I was impressed with his personality, and could not at once that he was a lone leader. He was one of the founders of the Congress (in 1885), and was active in its work to the end of his life as a representative of its more radical or progressive thought.

The fact that he was always outspoken and courageous in pointing out the oppression and injustice suffered by India at the hands of her foreign rulers, brought him early into disfavor with the Government, and caused him all his life to be on a sort of political suspicion and when at times and unjust persecution. No fewer than three times he suffered imprisonment by the Government by alleged sedition in the library, but in no case was the charge against him sustained by anything better than the most questionable evidence. His real offense was his boldness in

pointing out the wrongs suffered by the Indian people and in demanding reforms.

The accused of his first incarceration was his exposure of corruption in the administration of the nation store, Kolhapur. The term of his sentence was 100 days.

His second incarceration (eighty-one months) "aggravated" imprisonment, as the sentence read, involving in a high case Britishers deprivation of which a Westerner was held in contempt, was the result of a charge that he had employed obscene language in his Marathi newspaper, the *Kauro*. That the language was obscene was denied by Mr. Tilak and his friends.

During his incarceration his treatment was so severe that within a few weeks he lost 35 pounds in flesh. His food was restricted in quantity, and consisted of "haji" bread (bread of the very coarsest kind) and peas, lemon or lemon cordial with sugar or garlic which he demanded. Such diet resulted in serious indigestion with loss of sleep, and his life was despaired of. He was compelled to stand his hour each day picking cotton, an unnecessary and useless work which he could well be excused. He was permitted to have books and to read only on Sundays. When one considers that he was an eminent educator and scholar, that his sentence was in the highest degree questionable, and that his alleged offense was purely political in its nature, one finds it difficult to express one's amazement that a supposedly Christian government composed of educated Englishmen, could consent to subject him to such indignity and cruelty.

Mr. Tilak's last and largest impris-



BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

oration began in 1908 and was for a term of six years. Soon after the Sanat Congress he was arrested for alleged sedition on account of another article in his paper, the *Kauro*. Once more, as in the preceding trial, the question of his guilt or innocence hung upon the translation of a passage quoted in the Marathi language. The trial was before a jury of seven Englishmen and two Parsis, none of whom understood Marathi, though a jury with knowledge of the language might easily have been found. The five ignorant Englishmen voted "guilty," the two equally ignorant Parsis disagreed. The judge scorned the verdict of the majority and convicted the accused. Mr. Tilak reshaped his own case. When, at the end of the trial, the witness was pronounced upon him, and he was asked by the Court if he had anything to say, he replied:

"All I wish to say is that in spite of the verdict of the jury, I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher Powers that rule the destiny of things, and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering and imprisonment than by my remaining free."

A prominent Indian wrote of Mr. Tilak: "For his sufferings and cruel persecutions at the hands of the British Government, his own people love and honor him all the more."

In attempting to describe Mr. Tilak's leading characteristics, perhaps the first thing of all to be said is, that he possessed what may well be called a legal mind, keen and penetrating, and quick to adapt its thought and expression to

the requirements of the moment, while at the same time he was fond of religious speculation, and was dominantly scholarly in his tastes. Several years ago the *Manchester Guardian* said of him: "Mr. Tilak is beyond question the most powerful and subtle of living Indians. He combines a brilliant and versatile intellect with a personality that appeals irresistibly to the multitude."

Mr. Tilak was compelled to fight so many legal battles with representatives of the Government that he acquired the reputation in some quarters of being hard and unfeeling. But those who know him best deny the truth of this, and tell us that through all his struggles for justice in India and in spite of his persecutions he remained the courteous, kindly gentleman that he had always been. Mr. H. W. Nevins, in his book, "*The New Spirit in India*," says of him: "One of the highest and best of English officials told me he admired Mr. Tilak, and would gladly know him personally, but was afraid of leaving him for fear of a rebuff, so irreconcilable was the man opposed to him. But when the meeting took place, by a kind accident some weeks later, there was no rebuff, but only courtesy and openly expressed esteem."

Mr. Tilak was an able lawyer, and was at one time a law lecturer. However, he had not chosen to engage very much in the actual practice of law. He had had very large experience of public political life. For some in India had been so long or so conspicuously before the public as an advocate of political reform. He had been a member of the municipal government of Poona, taking an active part in the administration of



the city. Twice he had been elected to the Legislative Council of Bombay.

He was the President of the Indian Home Rule League, and before starting for England the last time he had secured a grant part of India and had received subscriptions for home rule propaganda, nearly as small sums from the common people, totaling more than £100,000. During the twenty-five days preceding May 8, 1908, he traveled 2,500 miles, delivering popular lectures for the cause in almost every village.

On the 25th of July, 1914, shortly after his return from his last imprisonment, the people of Poona celebrated Mr. Tilak's fortieth birthday, his "Silver Jubilee." Thousands came from different parts of the country to join the citizens of his home city in expressing their admiration and regard for the great leader. The papers reported that 8,000 persons assembled in the large courtyard of his residence, and 15,000 gave him an ovation elsewhere. About a week before the celebration the suggestion was made of presenting him with a *pasha*. The idea proved like wildfire, and by the next day the birthday had aroused the large sum of sixteen lakhs (about \$14,000,000), an extraordinary amount for a poor country like India, was raised, and welcomed cordially by the middle and poor classes. An Indian paper giving an account of the streamer declared that "not a pot (a fraction of a cent) of the money had come from plutocrats or aristocrats or their henchmen."

Mr. Tilak was deeply appreciated of the love and regard of his countrymen evinced by the celebration and especially by the *pasha*, but, while expressing his

gratitude for their affection, he declared himself willing to accept the money solely on the condition that he might use it as the nucleus of a National Fund to be employed in public education, or in some way for the benefit of the Indian people. No one then knew his will could be accepted, for it had been in the spirit of selfishness, of extreme regard for the welfare of his country and his countrymen, that all his public work had been done and all his public life had been lived.

No doubt, Mr. Tilak was a "thorn in the flesh" to the British bureaucracy in India. But who was to blame? Garrison was a thorn in the flesh to the slaveholders of the South. Lincoln was a thorn in the flesh to the aristocrats. Washington was a thorn in the flesh to King George III. Luther was a thorn in the flesh to the Pope. Jesus was a thorn in the flesh to the Jewish priests and pharisees. The only cure for such thorns in the flesh is reform.

Why does the British Government in India treat men like Mr. Tilak as it does? In the eyes of all right-thinking men, in the eyes of all men who believe that "all just government is based upon the consent of the governed," Mr. Tilak was as pure a patriot in Washington, certainly he was as true a patriot as General Buller at South Africa. Why were his views dogged by police, as if he had been a spy? Why did our Great Britain grant his country the Self Rule which was its right, and then leave the middle classes, the government, the *swamies*, to appoint not only him but other Indian leaders of like high character and of like confirmed ability, to postpone

at India of high responsibility and honor? If General Buller could become Premier of South Africa, why was not an eminent and honored Indian leader like Mr. Tilak permitted to become Governor of Bombay, or Madras, or

Bombay, or the Punjab? These great Possibilities or Previous events had ably Governors, our Government must have found that Mr. Tilak would have been, if only India, like South Africa, had been free.

## My Reminiscences of Mr. Tilak

By BETTY HALL (London).

During Mr. Tilak's recent visit to England as a delegate of the Indian National Congress and President of the Indian Home Rule League Deputation, to attend the discussions of the proposed changes in the Indian Government, I was privileged to see much of him and learned to appreciate the splendid qualities which justified his followers in their implicit faith in his judgment and wisdom.

His appearance showed great suffering, he looked and acted like a man much older than his years would indicate. He was very bright and his sight and hearing were rapidly failing. Often he referred to himself as an old man whose activities were coming to an end.

He was a keen thinker, and it was surprising to us to learn how much he knew of American life and politics. He accompanied to a marked degree the work of Young India, in America and of the Indian Home Rule League. He expressed often a keen desire to visit America, but was denied passport privileges.

As a speaker Mr. Tilak would have been a failure to English-speaking audiences were it not for the superior knowledge he had of Indian affairs and

of the shortcomings of British rule in India. His talk in England was not as easy as mine. Other Indian delegates, representing different views, were busy with high British officials and at the India Office, but Mr. Tilak spent the greater part of his time speaking in public, demands amongst the British people. He was to be heard at the British Labor Party conferences, at the Trade Union Congress, and at meetings organized by workers. He declared that British Labor must be educated regarding the effect of the exploitation of Indian workers by British capitalists, and must be made to realize that reference to the Indian race upon the British workers. On one occasion, when speaking before a large labor assembly, he said: "We have been of workers in India who are exploited not in the best interests of India, but the other nations. You are exploited, perhaps, but it is by your own race, while we are exploited by a foreign power."

Early in the winter he met with an accident which wounded his foot. His faithful secretary was much perturbed and declared that Mr. Tilak could not hold his speaking engagements. When

it was pointed out to Mr. Tink how easily he could be carried to a taxi and then into the hall, he procured a way to keep his word to the managers of the meetings. At the first meeting following the accident he was received with great applause. When he began his speech he said: "I thank you sincerely for the reception you have given me, but let me tell you that I am not foolish enough to believe that someone is given to me personally. It is given, if I rightly understand, for the principles for which I am fighting." This was the only occasion on which I ever heard him refer to his imprisonment and sufferings. Several times I asked him to tell me about these, but he seemed to me his growing desire to advance.

At a meeting of Hindu, Mohammedan, Parsi and other religious groups in protest against the Rowlatt Act he said:

It has been declared that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Mohammedan brethren. I am sure I represent the view of the Hindus when I say that we could not yield so much to any other nation as a nation of a subject nation. I would not

care of the rights of self government were granted to the Mohammedan community only as to the Hindus or to the lower classes of the Indian population, provided the British Government considered them more fit than the educated classes of India to exercise their rights.

On the platform Mr. Tink showed himself a man of text, dealing with hard facts and overwhelming statistics with shrewd diplomacy. He was a fighter. In his home he supported me with his great presence and leadership. He lived a most simple life, in fact, a very frugal one. He was very active mentally and disposed of mountains of work, keeping in close touch with affairs at home, at the Peace Conference, in America, and in England. He believed in hard work.

The news of his death did not come as a surprise to those who knew him in England. Nevertheless we realize the great gap it makes in the Indian movement. He started a great work, and his death falls upon the shoulders of Young Indians with the work remained to go forward and carry to completion the work which he began.

announced a wild conspiracy on General Dyer, but absolved from all guilt his superior officers, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the head of the Provincial Government, and Lord Chelmsford, the head of the Government of India. In the House of Lords no attempt was made even to express disapproval of the regime of terror that reigned in India as long as 1919. General Dyer was merely defended. By a vote of 129 to 89 the

" noble Lords" declared:

This House deplores the conduct of the man of General Dyer (learning his object from the wrong) in respect to that action, and considering a persistent danger to the preservation of order in case of rebellion.

That one of the gravest crimes in history—the cold-blooded shooting down or bombing of thousands of innocent beings—has been perpetrated in the twentieth century, is shameful enough. But that the crime should entail no more than a reprimand to a subordinate officer, and his dismissal from service, while the outrageous system that engenders such conduct is permitted to continue, is still more shameful and shameful.

The debate in the Parliament on the disturbances of 1919 had long been anticipated, and Thursday, July 18th, afforded the members their long sought opportunity to pronounce some judgment on the case. "The stage was set for a mighty drama," writes India (London) "and expectation ran high. Even at quarter time the House was full and intense anticipation of a debate in which almost any dramatic turn was possible was manifestly evident. Crisis was in the air."

The debate took the form of a defence of the Government's action in dismissing from service General Dyer. Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, favored the demand, but, cautiously enough, made no mention of the guilt of Sir Michael O'Dwyer or of the Viceroy, both of whom were the responsible heads of the government, while Dyer was but a rumpus. Mr. Winston Churchill, Secretary of War,

took occasion to state ground as Mr. Montagu.

Mr. Edward Carson claimed that there was a conspiracy to overthrow British rule, and that General Dyer by his drastic action saved India to Britain. "He wondered how many members of that House were really following on the conspiracy to drive the British from both India and Egypt. It was all one conspiracy; it was all engineered in the same way, it all had the same object—to deliver their new power and drive them out of Asia. . . . To break a man (General Dyer) under such circumstances was un-English."

Was Sir Edward merely ignorant of conditions and events in India? This speech would so indicate. Months before the Parliamentary debate took place unapproachable proof had been given to the British public and to the world that there was no such conspiracy. Both the Minority Report of the Hunter-Lovingship Committee, and the Report of the Investigating Committee of the Indian National Congress, had declared that there was no trace of a conspiracy to overthrow the government.

Another member of the House, following in the same line with Sir Edward, said:

It is admitted that the mob had murdered, burned and looted, that it was in fact, a great congregation of bloodthirsty beasts, numbering who had been excited and set on again by provocations, verbal and written. The mob committed these wrongs with fire and sword and spear and dagger at the military authority which the mob authority had failed to protect them.

We challenge any person to find confirmation of a single one of the above

## The Parliamentary Debate

A few weeks ago—early in July—the British Parliament definitely put its stamp of approval upon the O'Dwyer-Chelmsford system of governing India, but endeavored to save itself from total disgrace by administering a "good administration" to General Dyer for his "heavy action" in killing and wounding thousands of unarmed men and women at Amritsar. By a vote of 129 to 121 the members of the House of Commons

statements from a reading of both reports.

Although the Viceroy's statement in the debate was universally strong, several speeches were made which were decidedly condemnatory of the British action in the Punjab, and warmly sympathetic with India. One speaker asked:

Was there a member in the House who believed that day (the English) governed India with the approval of those governed by them? It was an undisputed fact, he declared, that if a politician were taken in question as to who should govern India, the answer would be against the English. If they did not lead India by mutual consent, they must fight it by force—possibly slowly, but still by force. It was only natural that enlightened India should not be self-demonstrated, but they (the English) could not apply that to India and the Indian people could not see it properly.

The last phrase is typical of the reluctance of the English to admit that the people of India can govern without the English before them.

They hope that the whole discussion was struck by Colonel Wedgwood, for many years an ardent friend of India, who declared:

General Dyer has injured India (English) honor. The safety of life was of no use

persons, the safety of women and children was of no importance compared with the desire of England. It was not a question of punishing General Dyer; the question with Mr. Gandhi when he said, we do not want to punish General Dyer, we have to do this for revenge. We want to change the system that produced General Dyer. That is the absolutely correct thing.

It is believed by many that the debate as a whole made a critical moment in the rule of India by the British. Many in India believe that it showed the real spirit of British rule in India to be that of contempt; that it proved the British method to be one of putting the Indian people on the back with one hand while with the other the hand necessary for their very life is stolen from their mouths.

For India the effect of the debate is and will be greater than was probably anticipated. Says the London Daily Telegraph:

"The position of the leaders of the Non-Cooperation movement in India has been considerably strengthened, and Mr. Gandhi's influence has received a decided fillip. . . . The bitterness of feeling between Indians and Europeans is unrepresented since the meeting" (of 1927).

## Boycotting the British

Statement against the British government is growing increasingly acute and the movement for "non-cooperation with the Government" is spreading. Hindu-Muslim opinion throughout the land. Non-cooperation has been started as a means of protest against the action of the Government of India in the matter of the Turkish Peace Treaty. As

has been stated by us previously, a notice was sent to the Viceroy of India on July 1, 1920 of the Muslim and Hindu leaders to carry through a policy of non-cooperation beginning August 1, unless before that date the Treaty had been changed to the satisfaction of the Mohammedans in the East.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the prominent

leader of the Non-Cooperation movement, has extremely worsened the Government of serious consequences if the Muslim demands are not heeded. "The Muslims and Hindus have lost faith in British honor and justice," he declared, as the result of the report of the Hunter Committee, and the Government's wholly unsatisfactory method of disposal of the tragic events of 1919. These events are open to the Mohammedans, says Mr. Gandhi. These are:

1. Resort to violence
2. Encouragement to other countries, as a wholesale scale
3. Creation of a compromise with the government.

The last step has been taken, though Mr. Gandhi admits that it is attended with grave risks. Yet he would not have the people hesitate. "In a crisis such as has confronted the Muslims of India no step that is accompanied with large risks can possibly bring about the desired change. No to run some risk will be to court greater risk, if not virtual destruction of law and order." The reluctance of the Indians to resort to violence is well illustrated in the letter sent by the Caliphate Committee to the Viceroy, which reads in part:

We must not resort to arms so long as any other means are not exhausted. We know that the laws in Mohammedan countries are not as exact there who are policy of trying to relieve the Caliphate primarily in such regions.

The latest news from India tells of the putting into effect of the non-cooperation policy and emphasizes the absence of any violence attached thereto. At Lucknow, states our dispatch, there was complete *harab* (cessation of business).

"Joint Hindu and Muslim meetings attended by over twenty thousand people adopted non-cooperation as the only means of securing the revision of the terms of the Turkish Treaty. The meetings also demanded the recall of the Indian troops from all the Islamic countries and a postponement of the visit of the Prince of Wales". In Bombay city "all was quiet and business in the city was nearly normal." The only district where demonstrations are reported to have taken place is Hyderabad, India, which has a large Muslim population.

The full program of Non-cooperation with the government consists of four principal steps to be taken gradually, the first of which is the surrender of all titles of honor and honorary offices. The second are:

1. Non-participation in government honors
2. Suspension by lawyers of practice and withdrawal of civil disputes by private arbitration
3. Boycott of government schools by Indian persons
4. Boycott of Educational Councils. (Indians will refuse to be voters or candidates under provision of the new Government of India Act 1)
5. Non-participation in government parties and such other functions
6. Refusal to accept any civil or military post in Minorities as it is often made for the army, especially for service in Turkish territories now being administered as violence of the plunders
7. Vigorous prosecution of the Swadeshi movement (the rehabilitation of home industries).

Mr M. K. Gandhi has urged in the latter part of his paper *Young India* recovered by us, that "not a single Indian offer his services for Mesopotamia, whether for the civil or the military department. Apart from the Caliphate and from the point of strategic interest, the English have no right to hold Mesopotamia. It is in no part of our loyalty to help the Imperial government in what is so plain language daylight robbery."

"The situation created by Mr. Gandhi is giving rise to apprehensions among those charged with the maintenance of peace in India and the serenity of the outlook in this country, which I desire to emphasize, is unequivocally not realized in England", writes the *Sindia* corre-

spondent of the *London Times*. It is strangely amusing that no news has been received from India since the Non-cooperation paper went into effect on August 1. *London papers* are carrying dispatches to the effect that the financial, (creation of business) was an utter failure, but we are not inclined to accept this as truth, and in the light of the warning by the *London Times* correspondent, it seems highly doubtful if the actual happenings in India are known anywhere outside of the country.

Whatever the situation may be, we are certain that developments are more serious than ever before, and that the consequences of the present world movement will be left for a long time to come.

## Why England Keeps India

We have been told a thousand times over that England's reason for keeping India is her insatiable desire to benefit the Indian people. In the face of their experience of British rule do the Indian people believe this to be true? Do Englishmen themselves believe this to be true?

In the English press of recent date have appeared a number of articles on the question of whether India is worth keeping. These articles make some very frank expressions as to the real reasons why England is in India—why long ago she lusted for gold in that grim and rich land and refuse to relinquish it.

One writer says that India is important and should be kept for military reasons, because it is so populous and great a country and because if let go it might

fall into the hands of an enemy. He says:

India is strategically important because of its position. When we compare the area and population of India with those of our great free commonwealths the contrast is amazing. India with an area of 3,000,000 square miles has a population of 310,000,000. Argentina, with an area of almost three million miles, has less than five million inhabitants. Canada, with an area of 3,000,000 miles, has a population of less than 5,000,000. India, by reason of its population, is almost as important as China. In most respects, India is almost equal to Russia, Japan, and Germany combined. It is well worth our while to keep India under this title it is because the racial unity of some possible enemy. Its possession is important to us because it brings us the gold of India which is most precious to us.

In this discussion the Lord Chancellor of England takes a part, saying that

India is indispensable because she contributes so much to the trade and wealth as well as to the power and prestige of the British Empire. He says:

To those who consider the money from the numerous commercial enterprises, a far more serious question than India is no small country even to the British Empire. The expenditure of her exports for our purposes during the past few years was nearly an equivalent of her post-war trade. Great Britain has always drawn from India large quantities of foodstuffs and raw materials essential to her industries. Out of the total exports of India, which, before the War, were roughly worth £100,000,000, more than a quarter were sent to the United Kingdom, and over 40 percent to the whole Empire. But it is on the other side of the scale, account that the value of Indian goods imported into this country, for British manufactures, before the war no less than 41 percent of the total imports of India, came from Great Britain and 70 percent from the Empire.

Consider the distinguished official:

In the fabric of our Empire, India is a vital part. Unless, indeed, we are content to abandon the great heritage of the past and with one polished and commercial significance, the necessity of India would be an act not only of folly but of depreciable patriotism. To make such a surrender would be to surrender the lifeblood of the world. The loss of India would be the first step in the disintegration of the Empire.

## Deporting Indian Laborers

By N. S. HARRIS

According to newspaper reports of the past several weeks, about 20,000 Hindustani laborers now living in the United States are to be arrested and sent back to India. Whittier had already been arrested, so far as we know care, in South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

To sum up, then, India must be retained by England—

1. Because it has great military and commercial value.
2. Because it is the lifeblood of the arch of Britain's imperial greatness.
3. Because if Great Britain did not retain India, it might become the possession or the ally of some other nation.

Is there any useful desire to benefit India entertained here? Does any one man for a moment believe that the already selfish reasons of England given above, for holding a great civilized nation as bondage, are satisfactory to any lover of right and justice to the world? Is there in England itself a single honorable man who can look his own conscience in the face and say that those reasons are satisfactory to him? Is it any wonder that there is unrest in India, when her people are wisely and bravely told by Englishmen that it is because of these selfish and selfish considerations that freedom is denied them,—that they are forever doomed to remain slaves after decade and century after century "the brevers of wood and drawers of water" for a foreign power?

They had been taken to Ellis Island in recent deportations in India. Many have already been forced to leave this country, although the story of their deportation has not been made public.

When the report of the deportations reached the ears of Indians in New

Yack City steps were immediately taken to investigate these proceedings. Through the efforts of a committee of Hindus, and with the assistance of the U. S. Labor Department, one of the thirty-one sailors on Ellis Island has been released recently, and nine have been taken back to the Philadelphia Immigration station, at Gloucester, N. J. But the others are being obliged to leave the country, on British steamers. A case was started in Gloucester, in defense of the nine men who were taken there.

The ocean guards for this round up of the Indian laborers in the United States in this year violated the Immigration law of 1907, which forbids entrance of Hindus, unless they be students, travelers, merchants, or the like. If the figures given by the press are correct, 1,200 laborers have illegally entered the United States.

The investigation of the case by the Committee revealed very soon the cause for the present lurch of the laborers. All of those who have been arrested entered the United States without the knowledge of the Immigration officers. They are Indian men, who, tired of their miserable and bleak life on their old homelands, where they find more hardship than the region of their British masters, deserted their ships and landed in the United States to find some liberty and happiness. In their minds they still have they hid themselves, upon leaving their homelands, far from that the British would have them out and force them to return to the steamer. In this country they have had to struggle hard to make living comfortable, in any degree, but were accused of their entry, and of absence of

protection. Many of them made attempts to learn the English language, and to take part in American activities. They learned and understood much, they gained a new conception of change, and, as a whole, were making fairly good progress here when the deportation proceedings began. Perhaps it was this change in their outlook that had encouraged the authorities to begin these proceedings. Certain it is, from the investigation conducted, that British steamship companies have had a hand in forcing the men to return, and are, in fact, paying the deported men into service on Indian ships. Added to this is the even harsher treatment which is being meted out to these "menstrans." We have previously noted the ships on which the deported men were sailing, and have seen with our own eyes and heard from those the tragic story of their miserable existence. They subsist on the scantiest and most unwholesome quantities of food, and even working in this world has a few regardlessness. Difficulties as has been the struggle of these men in the United States, it, nevertheless, provided a comparatively decent shelter and food.

We are not making a plea for the restoration of the men, if they have been proven to have violated the Immigration law. The fact that many returned to the United States before the law was passed suggests that it is not only just, but necessary, that they be barred in the courts before they are forced to leave the country.

We are gathering all possible facts relating to the case in this country, and would be grateful to all who can furnish additional matter on these deportations.

With the cooperation of the United States Labor Department we hope to be able to bring these men before the bar of justice, and to let them

be proven guilty or innocent. We do not advise or support illegal entry into the United States, but we do insist on a fair trial for the arrested men.

## Book-Reviews

*Letters from China and Japan. By John and Alice G. Dewey. E. P. Dutton and Co., New York.*

Professors and Mrs. Dewey's account of their trip through China and Japan is a fascinatingly interesting. The book is a valuable picture gallery of Japanese and Chinese life, each portrait and scene painted in gray, bright colors, and bringing the charming touch of the personality of their authors—Prof. and Mrs. Dewey.

In their simplicity and down-to-earth lack of political sentiment the letters afford excellent reading for a class room of students, and can even be resorted to as an text to any child's library. Here and there, in these studies, do we get the author's reaction to the true political situation in the East—in the peacefully chaotic confusion in China, and the unworkable diplomatic combination of Japan.

Of Japan Prof. Dewey writes:

Excited as I was when they were a nation of warlords, but I didn't realize that foreign affairs and diplomacy were also a complicated one.

Their stay in Japan was one round of tea parties, thousands and receptions, talks with pretty Japanese ladies, and delightful shopping trips, the moments of the latter being admirably described by Mrs. Dewey.

In China, on the other hand, much

of their investigation was still conducted. It is because of the circumstances, perhaps, that the authors are able to write more accurately, and more truthfully, of the situation in China, and of the struggles through which she is passing, in her effort to loose herself from the hold of Imperialism. Europe and Asia 'It is interesting that my fellow Japan is long as on the defender and the philosophy, and talk about the open door, when Japan has locked most of the doors on China already and got the keys in her pocket" remarks Prof. Dewey.

As a whole, the book is delightful reading and especially commendable for its simplicity and unassuming honesty. Our only regret is that the authors did not have time to visit themselves more. Their might have given them a clearer and more sympathetic attitude toward the masses of both China and Japan.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

B. W. Handbook:

1. Red Rubber, by E. D. Morel
2. Africa and the Peace of Europe, by E. D. Morel
3. The Unfinished Program of Democracy, by Richard Roberts
4. The Government of India, by J. Ranney MacDonald
5. The United History of India, by Vincent A. Smith

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS  
OF AUGUST 24, 1902

of "Young India," published weekly at New York, N. Y., for April, 1930  
State of New York, |  
County of New York, | ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared D. S. Viljoen Esq., who, having been duly sworn according to law, depose and says that he is the Business Manager of the "Young India," and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1902, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—India House Hale League of America, 1400 Broadway, New York City

Editor—Dr. J. T. Sunderland, 1400 Broadway, New York City,

Managing Editor—Dr. W. S. Hamilton, 1400 Broadway, New York City,

Business Manager—Mr. D. S. Viljoen Esq., 1400 Broadway, New York City.

2. That the owners are (give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.) India House Hale League of America.

President—Dr. J. T. Sunderland, 1400 Broadway, New York City,

General Secretary—Dr. W. S. Hamilton, New York City

Treasurer—Mr. D. S. Viljoen Esq., 1400 Broadway New York City.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear other than that of a bona fide owner, and that this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is (This information is required from all publications only.)

D. S. VILJOEN Esq.,

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of March, 1930

FRANK O. RICE

Notary Public

New York County, No. 32

New York, Registry No. 76104

Term expires March 30, 1931